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ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a work in progress, a critical-historical study which considers two issues: (1) the nature and scope of the English curriculum in primary and secondary schools in South Australia from the 1920s to the 1950s; and (2) the role of schooling in shaping young people as future citizens for a nation in a time of great change. The paper states that, based on previous work in school and curriculum history, the study explores, in one local site, the role of English curriculum and the English teacher in shaping the character of the student and promoting a suitable form of citizenship. According to the paper, this research takes up the challenge of exploring these largely unexamined years of English teaching to supplement English curriculum history. It focuses on one of the research aims--to collate and map the shape and nature of the primary and secondary English curriculum in South Australian schools from the 1920s to the 1950s. The paper's remaining sections report on aspects of the work conducted so far. It begins by briefly introducing the methodological approaches underpinning the research, then provides an overview of the primary curriculum during those years, followed by an examination of the reading component of the primary English curriculum for this period. It then "maps" the four different kinds of post-primary schooling that were established in this period with their accompanying curricula and follows this with an analysis of the curriculum developed for one of these--high schools. The paper concludes with a brief summary and some implications for further work arising from the research. (Contains 5 figures, 27 tables, and 18 references.) (NKA)

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English Curriculum and Citizenship in South Australia from the 1920s to the 1950s

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Paper presented in the symposium - "Researching English Teaching and Curriculum History: Looking Back, Looking Forward?"

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Background to the study

This paper reports on a work in progress. The authors have been involved during 2000 in a 'small' Australian Research Council funded project entitled, "English curriculum, citizenship and nation building: A critical-historical study." The study brings together two issues for consideration. The first is the nature and scope of the English curriculum in primary and secondary schools in South Australia from the 1920s to the 1950s. The second issue is the role of schooling in shaping young people as future citizens for a nation in a time of great change. Based on previous work in school and curriculum history, this study explores, in one local site, the role of English curriculum and the English teacher in shaping the character of the student and promoting a suitable form of citizenship.

The 1920s to the 1950s are something of a grey area in the history of English curriculum in Australia. In the main, curriculum historians have concentrated on the period of the formation of public schooling in Australia in the late nineteenth century, or the period of the rise of the so-called 'New English' in the 1960s and 1970s. For example, the recently published historical review of the New English, *Re-Viewing English*, (Sawyer, Watson, & Gold, 1998) nominates in its introduction (Little, 1998, pp. ii-iii) four periods of English teaching for attention. These are the 1880s-1910s; the 1960s; 1975-1997; and 1998.

While these are clearly periods in which significant events and changes in English teaching took place, the bracketing of the period between the 1910s and the 1960s represents an interesting historical move. Are we to take it that nothing of note happened in this period, or that at least no significant change occurred after the 1910s until the 1960s? This research takes up the challenge of exploring these largely unexamined years of English teaching in order to supplement English curriculum history. It is important to examine these years before what is commonly understood as a renaissance from the 1960s on, when English teaching attained new agency with regard to curriculum reform. The years from the 1920s to the 1950s represent a fruitful site for examination of the discourses that shaped English teaching in order to understand how they may have been sustained, suppressed, rejuvenated or re-articulated in the 'New English' of the 1960s and 1970s.

The research reported here seeks to 'supplement' the history of English teaching in Australia in another way. There is a tendency in historical curriculum studies for the most populous eastern states to operate as a 'stand-in' for Australia as a whole. For example, in the same introduction to *Re-Viewing English* referred to above, Little states:

> ... I attempt to place English teaching in the context of education and the politics of eduction, using New South Wales as a case study in the knowledge that developments in other States have not been dissimilar. (Little, 1998, p. ii)

Later (p.vi), he remarks that "'Tripod' English [grammar, composition, literature] was taught under the syllabus of 1911, which was not amended until 1943, and then only slightly." The question for us has been, how true is this in other parts of Australia – does the use of, say, New South Wales in this period, provide a truly national perspective on the English curriculum at a particular time, or did different states have different experiences? Our work reports on the history of English curriculum in South Australia over this same period in a way we hope will make a contribution to a more nuanced national perspective.

It is the intention of this historical work to provide the basis for a critical examination of current conceptions of English in schools and the ideal forms of citizen-worker it is implicated in developing. The specific aims of the research are to:

- collate and map the shape and nature of the primary and secondary English curriculum in South Australian schools from the 1920s to the 1950s
- analyse the discourses constituting the curriculum over this period to consider in what ways English was implicated in shaping the future citizens of the nation
- apply the insights gained from the historical study to critically examine current claims for English teaching

This paper focusses on the first two of these aims. The mapping of the primary curriculum was much simplified by the fact that a historian in the 1970s (Harrison, 1976) had compiled into four volumes all of the primary school courses of instruction from the 1870s to the 1960s. However, very early in the study it became clear we had made a problematic assumption that there was a 'secondary' English curriculum to 'map'. Much early and ongoing work had to be conducted to identify and trace the different versions of post-primary schooling that were established, reviewed and reconstituted in the period under review. Each of these versions of post primary schooling had their own curriculum that had to be found or identified and mapped.

The remaining sections of this paper report on aspects of the work conducted to this point. We begin by briefly introducing the key methodological approaches underpinning the research. We then provide an overview of the primary curriculum (ie the successive courses of instruction) from the 1920s to the 1950s followed by an examination of the reading component of the primary English curriculum for this period. We then 'map' the four different kinds of post-primary schooling that were established in this period with their accompanying curricula and follow this with an analysis of the curriculum developed for one of these – high schools. We conclude with a brief summary and some implications for further work arising from our research.

Methodological approaches

Our historical exploration has been strongly informed by the work of Michel Foucault and those who have worked with his genealogical approach (Foucault, 1977) to historical enquiry. Three aspects of our approach to this historical enquiry are highlighted here.

First, our work is an attempt to construct a 'history of the present' (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1986, p.119) in that we are beginning with a 'problematisation' in the present and seeking to explore the history of its transformations and emergence. A problematisation is an object of discursive and non-discursive practices - something that is currently held up as a site for study, debate or consideration (for useful discussions of these issues see Castel, 1994; Rose, 1996). A genealogy explores the history of that object and the discourses which have served to constitute it.

The problematisation we are examining is the (child) subject of the English (and later the literacy) curriculum – the properly literate child. Over the last two decades the literate child/student subject has been the a focus of wide-ranging debate and the target of programs of reform as the nation's economic well-being has been tied to the literacy levels of its populace, particularly its future-workers or school students (Department of Employment Education and Training, 1991; Kemp, 1999). Green (Green, 1998; Green & Beavis, 1996) points out that the subject English historically has been at the centre of the public school system in Australia – a primary site for shaping of the future citizen and a touchstone for the health of the system overall. Thus our focus is on describing the kind of literate/reading/writing (child) subject that was constituted in the English curriculum at different times in order to trace the historical transformations of the discourses that constitute this student subject. In doing this we are not assuming that we are tracing back different versions of the same underlying subject. The 'genealogical' approach to the study of history refuses the unity of subjects, noting that, being constituted within discourses, they are the effects of particular historical practices.

> One has to dispense with the constituent subject, to get rid of the subject itself, that's to say, to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework. And this is what I would call genealogy, that is, a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc., without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history (Foucault, 1980, p.117).

Our question has been in relation to each version of the English curriculum in the period under study, how is the English student subject constituted in this curriculum? We also ask what rationalities are employed in relation to this subject in relation to their role as a citizen in the making?

Second, this historical research explores curriculum as a textual practice – that is as discursive practice which systematically forms the objects of which it speaks (Foucault, 1972). We are aware that in the enactment of the curriculum in local sites, much will have occurred that a study focussing on the authorised, written curriculum will not examine. However, we argue that the authorised curriculum document remains a site with huge potential for historical study. It is a prime site for studying the discourses that serve to constitute the student (and teacher) subject and the curriculum – these discourses frame what it is possible to say about these objects, and in relation to what other objects they could be examined and understood. Curriculum documents also detail the technologies (the subjects, methods, strategies, practices) which are to be employed in institutional sites to shape the student as learner and subject. In this sense they are a manual that acts as a bridge between the ideal subject of schooling and the mundane, everyday practices which were to be employed in achieving these ideals.

Foucault pointed to the value of studying these more 'programmatic' aspects of history. He studied the transformation of the 'moral technologies' (Foucault, 1991) – the 'practices' – by which populations are shaped and disciplined. The curriculum documents we have studied provide insights into regimes of local, mundane, contingent ways of doing and saying things that articulate with the curriculum discourses they display. We have found curriculum documents provide a way into understanding and researching the everyday 'work' that is involved shaping the child as citizen.

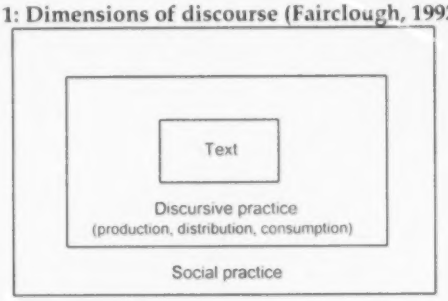
As texts, curriculum documents also are remarkably revealing about the debates and issues of contestation of their time. In spite of the fact that curriculum documents do represent the authorised and authoritative 'word' on schooling, they are not univocal texts. Following Bakhtin (1981) we understand that all texts are dialogic – carrying with them meanings and ideas from their past that must be negotiated with ideas and practices in the present. The meanings of words and language are never fixed and authors who write texts must engage in a process (dialogue) that attempts to define a certain meaning for the words in this time and place and to dismiss, displace, rearticulate or incorporate other possible meanings. In this way texts are always in dialogue – with the past, with other texts, with practices – and traces of this dialogue can be found within the text. Curriculum documents are also, like all texts, formed out of the discourses of their time and out of other texts, whose words they use or to which they refer – in Bakhtin's (Bakhtin, 1981, p.337) terms, "they are filled to overflowing with other people's words". This makes texts such as curriculum documents sites where the different (and sometimes contradictory) discourses, ideas and histories that shape the curriculum can be traced.

This brings us to the third aspect of our historical enquiry, which is the use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a way of examining the curriculum documents. CDA is an emerging set of analytic practices which builds on

discourse analysis by attending to issues of power and the effects of discourses on people's lives. We are exploring the use of CDA in the analysis of texts in their social and historical context.

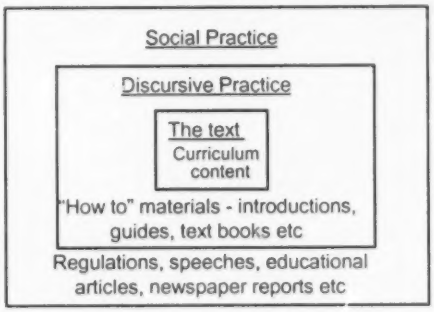
According to Fairclough (1992, pp.63-64), discourse is a social practice as well as a mode of representation. This is because as well as constructing *systems of belief*, discourse constructs *subject positions* for people and the *relations* between people. Thus discourse not only operates within texts, but it also impacts on the ways in which these texts are made and used in the world, and these in turn are implicated in wider social practices. Fairclough represents these dimensions of discourse with three nested boxes, as shown in Figure 1. This representation shows that analysis of discourse involves not only close attention to texts, but also to the processes of production, distribution and consumption of these texts, as well as their relation to broader social practices.

Figure 1: Dimensions of discourse (Fairclough, 1992, p.73)



The 'text' under examination in our study is the curriculum document, or selected parts of it, such as statements of curriculum content. However, as this is an historical study, the discursive practices and social practices which relate to that text are not available for immediate observation. We must rely on other 'texts' and artefacts to access these processes and broader discursive formations. Figure 2 shows how we are using textual sources to consider the discursive practices and wider social practices related to the text under consideration.

Figure 2: Textual sources related to dimensions of discourse


Social Practice
Discursive Practice
The text
Curriculum content
"How to" materials - introductions, guides, text books etc
Regulations, speeches, educational articles, newspaper reports etc

For example, if the focus text is the actual description of the curriculum content for particular grade levels, to consider the processes of production, distribution and consumption of this text we could look to the range of 'how to' materials such as the introductions provided, the prefaces, as well as any guide books and text books that tell the teacher how they are to read and use that curriculum content. Similarly, broader social practices may be considered through analysis of broader texts within the field of eduction, such as regulations, speeches, educational articles and the like. Non print resources could be included in this process, such as architecture, photographic resources, oral histories and materials such as collections of realia.

This paper illustrates the critical discourse analytic work conducted on the curriculum content in both a primary and post-primary curriculum materials.

Mapping the primary English curriculum

Table 1 shows that there were ten versions of the course of instruction issued in the four decades we examined. The overall picture this table provides is of a curriculum that, at least in terms of subject labels shown in column 2, is being added to, particularly with technical subjects in the 1920s, with a major change in 1944 followed by a period of relative stability right through the 1950s. The third and fourth columns show the labels given to the components of English in these courses of instruction for grades 3 and 7 respectively. These show little change during the whole four decades. Grammar is incorporated into 'language' and then omitted in grade 7 and 'appreciation of prose and poetry' is added in 1944 for the same grade. In grade 3, writing (handwriting) is omitted as a separate component in 1944.

Table 1: Subjects in primary course of instruction and components of English in Grade 3 & 7

Year	Subjects	English components Grade 3	English components Grade 7
1921	English Mathematics Morals, citizenship, & history Nature knowledge Drawing Manual work Music Needlework (for girls) Physical Training	Reading Poetry Language (oral) Language (written) Spelling Writing	Reading Poetry Language (oral) Language (written) Grammar Spelling Writing
1924	as for 1921	as for 1921	as for 1921
1929	as for 1921 with addition of: Geography Nature study (instead of Nature knowledge) Elementary science Woodwork Domestic Arts	as for 1921	as for 1921
1938	As for 1929 with addition of: Sheet metal work	as for 1921	as for 1921 except that grammar is now incorporated into Language as: Language (oral & written), including grammar

1944	English Arithmetic Handwork Other life interests - music - health exercises - history - geography - nature knowledge - religious studies Social studies (alternative to history/geography for grade V-VII)	Reading Spelling Language - oral Language - written Poetry	Reading Spelling Language - oral Language - written Appreciation of prose & verse
1947	English Arithmetic Handwork Other life interests (Grades 1-3) Music (Grades 4-7) Health exercises (Grades 4-7) History (Grades 4-7) Geography (Grades 4-7) Nature knowledge (Grades 4-7) Religious instruction (Grades 4-7) Social studies (alternative to history/geography for grade V-VII)	As for 1944	As for 1944
1952	As for 1947	As for 1944	As for 1944
1953	As for 1947	As for 1944	As for 1944
1956	As for 1947	As for 1944	As for 1944
1958	As for 1947	As for 1944	As for 1944

However, as can be seen from Tables 2 and 3, this focus on just the 'labels' for the subjects and subject components does tend to hide considerable work that went on inside subjects and in relation to particular grades within subjects. Four components of English were analysed for modifications in the content for grade 3 and grade 7 over the ten versions of the course of instruction. In these tables 'no changes' means that the text was unaltered; 'minor revision' means that changes were restricted to the addition, deletion or substitution of a few words or a sentence; 'revision' means changes of more than a few words where whole sections may have been altered, deleted or added; and 'major revision' means the complete or near complete rewrite of the content.

Table 2: Revisions to Grade 3 components of English

Year	Reading	Written Language	Oral Language	Poetry
1921	first analysed	first analysed	first analysed	first analysed
1924	revision	no changes	minor revision	revision
1929	revision	no changes	major revision	revision
1938	revision	major revision	no change	major revision
1944	major revision	major revision	major revision	major revision
1947	no changes	minor revision	no change	no change
1952	no changes	no changes	no change	no change
1953	minor revision	no changes	no change	no change
1956	no changes	no changes	no change	no change
1958	minor revision	no changes	no change	no change

Table 3: Revisions to Grade 7 components of English

Year	Reading	Written Language	Oral Language	Poetry
1921	first analysed	first analysed	first analysed	first analysed
1924	revision	revision	minor revision	minor revision
1929	no changes	revision	minor revision	revision
1938	no changes	revision*	major revision	major revision
1944	major revision	major revision	major revision	major revision
1947	no changes	revision	revision	no change
1952	no changes	no changes	no changes	no change
1953	minor revision	no changes	no changes	no change
1956	no changes	no changes	minor revision	no change
1958	minor revision	no changes	minor revision	no change

* Includes exclusion of some material that is taken up in an accompanying text book

In only one year (1952) were there no changes to any component in either grade 3 or 7. In one year (1944) there was a major revision to all components at both grade 3 and 7. In some years there were modifications to some components and not to others (see, for example, 1929 in both grades). Interestingly, in some years there were different modifications to components at particular year levels. For example, in oral language in 1938 there were no changes in grade 3, yet a major revision in grade 7, and there are many other examples of different levels of modification between components and between grades.

This work shows the value of close textual analysis of curriculum materials beyond the level of subject labels and even subject component labels. The analysis showed that there was considerable work done on the English curriculum in this period – it was not static or unchanging. In addition, our approach to the analysis – which was to use the computer to closely track changes at the level of words and phrases – demonstrated the extremely close attention that was given to exactly how the curriculum was to be displayed and conveyed to the teacher reader, sometimes at an incredibly fine level of detail. Table 4 shows just one example of this form of data analysis and illustrates the way in which the course content was constantly being 'tweaked' and revisited. In this case it is the reading curriculum that is being modified, and shown here is a small section dealing with silent reading for grade 3. In this analysis any words which are added to the content are underlined, and any which are omitted are struckthrough.

Table 4: Extract from Grade 3 Reading course content

1921	1924	1929
Silent reading, for short periods, to enable the pupils to grasp the thought content of the lesson; this must be done under the direct supervision of the teacher.	During some reading lessons, ~~for~~ short periods should be devoted to silent reading, to enable the pupils to grasp the thought content of the lesson; this must be done under the direct supervision of the teacher.	During some reading lessons, short periods should be devoted to silent reading, to enable the pupils to grasp the thought content of the lesson; this must be done under the direct supervision of the teacher, who should test from time to time their knowledge of the subject matter.

This is an example of one kind of minor modification that was common throughout the courses. Here both the timing of the silent reading is clarified ("during some reading lessons") and the focus ("knowledge of the subject matter") is extended. Interestingly, in other places in the curriculum document the tension between allowing students to read silently, and yet still being able to conduct some kind of surveillance of their reading, is also evident. Issues such as these raised by the analysis of the actual content of the curriculum are discussed in the next section.

Constituting the reading subject – the primary English curriculum

One of the main concerns for our analysis has been to consider the kind of subject that is being constituted through the English curriculum. For example, what kind of student reader is sought and by what means? This section reports on the analysis of the 'reading' component of the primary English curriculum. To consider this question two aspects of the ten curriculum documents were analysed – the statement of content for the reading component (ie the actual course of study), and the introductions about reading that were placed alongside, and which led into the statements of, content. These introductions were addressed directly to the teacher and provided a guide or instructions on how the content was to be read and used as well as some indication of the broader aims of the component. Typically the statement of content for reading for a particular grade level covered only a few paragraphs or a small list of text types (see examples below). The introductions tended to be longer, running into a few pages of continuous prose.

The course content was analysed for:

1 the *practices* which students were required to engage in (ie what are students asked to do?)
2 the *content* they were asked to work with (usually reading material)
3 *how* and *why* they were to engage in these practices and work with this content

This analysis showed over the ten documents an emerging tension between two main reading *practices* – these were reading (aloud) and reading silently. The full text of the content for grade 3 reading in 1921 is shown in Table 5. Note how it is that *silent* reading has to be marked, while what is clearly oral reading (because of the need for fluency and expression) is called, simply, reading. Oral reading is backed up by *drill* with a focus on enunciation and pronunciation. Clearly the default practice was reading orally while reading silently was to be conducted only in *short* periods.

Table 5: The reading component of grade 3 English in 1921

To read with reasonable fluency and expression the Adelaide Illustrated Reader I or an approved substitute and two approved story books.
Silent reading, for short periods, to enable the pupils to grasp the thought content of the lesson; this must be done under the direct supervision of the teacher
Free choice reading from the class library.
Drill to ensure clear enunciation and correct pronunciation.

In 1924 (see table 6) a new technology of reading is introduced in the shape of 'approved story books' acting as 'supplementary' readers which presumably further cemented the place of silent reading into the curriculum. Interestingly, these texts, as opposed to the reader, are *not* to be studied in detail. Some of the additions to this version relate to specifying more closely the *timing* of some practices with silent reading only in *some reading lessons*, and drill in phonics to be practised *daily*.

Table 6: The reading component of grade 3 English in 1924

To read with reasonable fluency and expression the Adelaide Reader I.
At least ten approved story books are to be read in oral and silent reading lessons as supplementary readers. These should be used chiefly as a means of creating interest; it is not intended that they should be studied in detail.
During some reading lessons, short periods should be devoted to silent reading, to enable the pupils to grasp the thought content of the lesson; this must be done under the direct supervision of the teacher.
Free choice reading from the class library.
Drill in phonics to ensure clear enunciation should be given daily.

Even more changes and clarifications are made in the next version of the course of instruction in 1929 which is shown in Table 7. These kinds of updates seem to indicate an anxiety to manage and put into its proper place the introduction of this new focus on silent reading. Once again there is a clarification of timing in relation to oral reading and phonics - now to be given at the commencement of each *oral* reading lesson (oral reading is now marked in direct relation to use of the reader for the grade). There is clearly a move to maintain the importance of oral reading through both its placement and timing in the English lessons.

In the 1929 document, attention is also turned to silent reading, as it may also causing concern in relation to teacher surveillance of students' performance. Not only should the reading of the supplementary readers be conducted under the direct supervision of the teacher, the teacher should now "test from time to time their knowledge of the subject matter." Also, in the free choice (presumably silent) reading from the class library, teachers or students should now keep a "record of books read." Here an anxiety about the best way to monitor students' *silent* reading is evident. Teachers have a tried and true technology for monitoring oral reading via the class reader and listening for 'fluency', 'expression' and 'enunciation' - we are witnessing the struggle for an equivalent system in silent reading.

'fluency', 'expression' and 'enunciation' - we are witnessing the struggle for an equivalent system in silent reading.

Table 7: The reading component of grade 3 English in 1929

To read with reasonable fluency and expression the Adelaide Reader I. Drill in phonics to ensure clear enunciation should be given at the commencement of each oral reading lesson. (See pp. 71-8) At least eight approved story books are to be read in oral and silent reading lessons as supplementary readers. These should be used chiefly as a means of creating interest; it is not intended that they should be studied in detail. During some reading lessons, short periods should be devoted to silent reading, to enable the pupils to grasp the thought content of the lesson; this must be done under the direct supervision of the teacher, who should test from time to time their knowledge of the subject matter. Free choice reading from the class library. A record of books read should be kept by the teacher or pupil.

The 1938 version of the curriculum made no changes compared to 1929, but in 1944 an entirely new, and much briefer, course is outlined as in Table 8. Now there is a simple listing of the resources that teachers must use with no instruction on timing, nor on the kinds of monitoring that must occur. The issue of silent vs oral reading is now absent, as least in the statement of content.

Table 8: The reading component of grade 3 English in 1944

a)Three or four readers approved for this grade. b)Optional reading of the *Children's Hour*. c)Reading of library books.

It is at this point we reach the limits of what it is possible to 'read' into a survey of course content. Was this change and simplification in 1944 because the issue of oral vs silent reading was no longer of concern, or that their relative balance and modes of management were now considered problems solved? What we have found is the close reading of this curriculum content gave insights into the kinds of practices students were to engage in and how, as well as what they were to study (eg the material they were to read, the things they were to know). However there are obvious limits to this analysis – there is little information on the rationale for these practices, nor on their relation to each other and, especially, the way the range of practices presented were seen to contribute to the ideal student subject as future citizen. To consider these issues we needed to look to the adjacent texts and sections of texts which acted as a bridge or commentary for teachers into how they were to read and use the curriculum content.

The introductions to the curriculum content are an interesting and evolving text year by year. Prior to 1885, the curriculum content had no introduction and was simply set as the standard for the inspector's examination of pupils. In 1885 it consisted of a few sentences outlining the 'principles' for the teaching of each component of English. By 1921 these introductions had grown to many paragraphs running over more than a page. For the purposes of following some of the 'leads' provided by the analysis of the curriculum content above, three introductions are worth highlighting here – those from 1921, 1924 and 1944.

The introductions were analysed to consider 1) in what ways was reading described (this included any metaphors that were used, and adjectives attached to the processes described); and 2) to consider the practices it involved (this included a focus on the verbs used in relation to reading and the processes that were described).

The opening paragraph of the introduction to reading in 1921 provides a series of metaphors which represent reading as a 'storehouse' or heritage of 'treasures'. The italicised words and phrases show the way that reading is displayed, metaphorically, as an access site for the best ideas of the past.

Table 9: Extract 1 from the introduction to reading, 1921

Reading is the means of unlocking for us *the noble thoughts of the past*, so that *the great ideas that genius has created throughout the ages* become our own. The work of the teacher is to see that children are taught both to read and to speak, so that *these treasures* may be theirs in fullest measure. Reading has been defined as the delivery of language from writing; speaking as the utterance of spontaneous composition; but both delivery and utterance need to be so guided that the best shall be the result. If, however, unintelligibly and unimpressedly delivered, reading of even the *noblest thoughts* becomes a purely mechanical process. (emphasis added)

The metaphorical treatment of reading as 'treasure' in this paragraph is built upon with the representation of the book as a 'storehouse' and the idea of words and phrases as 'many sided crystal(s)'.

This concept of a storehouse of 'great ideas' and 'beautiful thoughts' is one half of a dualism that distinguishes between these ideas on the one hand, and the process of their delivery on the other. It is not enough to have access to these treasures, they must also be 'delivered' in an appropriate way. Thus, to return to the first paragraph shown above, "Reading has been defined as the *delivery* of language from writing" and unintelligible and unimpressive delivery blocks access to noble thoughts. Reading is not a "purely mechanical process". The second paragraph of the introduction builds upon this thought by relaying the story of John Milton's daughters.

Table 10: Extract 2 from the introduction to reading, 1921

Understanding necessary – Unless the reader understands the subject matter, the process of reading is to him, so far as mental growth is concerned, flat stale and unprofitable. A striking example is furnished by the daughters of John Milton. The poet, with his strong views regarding the inferiority of the feminine intellect, had his daughters so trained that they were able to read to him passages from Hebrew, Latin, and Greek books. But although they were familiar with the pronunciation of the words, they were ignorant of their meaning. No wonder that the daughters rebelled as their being used as human phonographs, and that they displayed unfilial conduct. To read well involves a clear understanding of the matter read.

The final sentence establishes *understanding* as the key that binds together the thoughts and their delivery. The use of the metaphor of human 'phonographs' for the daughters who read but didn't understand makes a cohesive tie back to the negative construct of 'mechanical' delivery in the first paragraph. The beginning of the third paragraph brings together the construct of ideas in the text and the construct of appropriate delivery returns to the idea of 'mechanical' delivery as not counting as good reading.

Table 11: Extract 3 from the introduction to reading, 1921

Comprehension of subject matter – To read well, the thoughts of the author must first be received into the reader's mind and then delivered as the author would himself have uttered them. Set a child to read matter above his comprehension, and the art becomes at once a *mechanical* process. We see, then, that the first great consideration for good reading is a thorough grasp of the subject matter beforehand, together with such command of the voice as will give to the words of the book the meaning which the author intended to convey.

There is a particular view of what 'understanding' or 'comprehension' mean here, and that is related to the reproduction of the author's intended meaning. This builds out of the metaphor of reading as treasures, and access to the great ideas and the noble thoughts of the genius of the past – if these form the starting point for reading, then to interfere with these ideas, to misunderstand them, or to not do them justice in delivery represents a failure of the whole process. This point is emphasised in the remainder of the third paragraph where the *work* of the reader is to choose the most appropriate way to literally 'voice' the author's thoughts.

Table 12: Extract 4 from the introduction to reading, 1921

Each phrase, or cluster of words, has been aptly likened to a many-sided crystal which may be made to throw light from any of its facets, according as one or the other is presented uppermost. Emphasis, then, is essential to expression; good reading involves close thinking both as to the subject-matter and its delivery.

The remainder of the introduction builds on both sides of this dualism of understanding and delivery. Promoting understanding (and consequently appropriate delivery) is tied closely to the idea of building a student's 'vocabulary'.

Table 13: Extract 5 from the introduction to reading, 1921

To enlarge the child's vocabulary and to give his words their true and full meaning is the task of the teacher, when the first steps are taken in reading and in expression. Very young children do not need formal reading to enlarge their minds, language lessons will develop the power that subsequently enables them to master the reading lessons.

Delivery too must match the greatness of the ideas represented in reading. Alongside mention of 'beautiful thoughts' and the 'finest passages' in literature are descriptions of "simple, pure" language and stories that should be "simple and bright", not "approaching gruesomeness or sadness". A student is to "read aloud so distinctly and expressively that his reading will convey both pleasure and profit to the hearer." Thus the oral performance of the reading must match the nobility and beauty of the ideas it conveys.

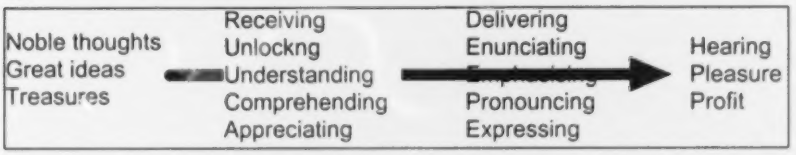
The second focus for analysis – what reading involved – focussed on the actions ascribed to the reader through either verbs or their nominalised forms. In this introduction reading is represented as:

- unlocking (noble thoughts of the past)
- delivery (of language)

- understanding (the matter read)
- comprehension (of subject matter)
- receiving (thoughts of the author)
- grasping (the subject matter)
- giving (words the meaning the author intended; own emphasis)
- (proper) pronunciation and enunciation
- appreciating (the best in literature)
- hearing (the meaning through sound)
- reproduction (of texts in notes or resumes)

These processes emphasise the reader as a conduit and constitute reading as a process of, first, receiving the idea as the author intended and then delivering this reading in a way that does justice to the noble thoughts expressed and realises the great ideas for the hearer. Figure 3 is a diagrammatic representation of these processes of reader as conduit who apprehends and reproduces the treasures of the past.

Figure 3: Reader as conduit



The view of reading expressed here matches the 'default' view of oral reading and emphasis on pronunciation and monitoring of oral performance identified in the analysis of the 1921 content above. The issue of silent reading is not a focus in the introduction at this stage, however, in 1924, coincident with the addition of the reading of supplementary readers noted in the content analysis above, an equivalent section is added to the introductory comments in this year. An extract from this new part of the introduction is shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Extract from the introduction to reading, Course of Instruction, 1924

A list of approved supplementary readers is provided herein. An attempt should be made to familiarise the children of each grade with a least ten of them by the end of the year. This number may appear large, but it need not cause alarm; children in some other countries read more. In using supplementary readers, the spelling and meaning of individual words and phrases are to be considered as of secondary importance. Time should seldom be spent in explanation, otherwise interest in the story slackens, and there is a possibility that the book may become distasteful and the lesson stale and unprofitable. Rather let the children themselves, by reference to the context, obtain the meaning of such words and phrases. Teachers should encourage the children to do their own research work from atlases, school textbooks, dictionaries, etc. First excite interest: this will develop enjoyment, and the child will read with pleasure and profit. It is a matter of first importance that children should be encouraged to form the reading habit, and, when the desire is present in the child, it should not be frustrated by a lack of books. Those who are lovers of good books give no cause for anxiety about their education when they leave school. They will then have the opportunity of satisfying their desires by joining a public library: but while at school all children should have scope for wide and varied reading, and in this connection the supplementary readers will be found very helpful.

It is immediately apparent from the reading of this section that a new way of constituting reading is being introduced here. The practices that are emphasised include:

- reading more
- interest in the story
- obtaining meaning from context
- research on their own
- exciting interest
- developing enjoyment
- reading for pleasure
- satisfying desires

These are not only practices around *silent* reading, they also construct a different relation between the reader and the text than is apparent in the 1921 introduction and represented in Figure 3. Here meaning is much more the personal responsibility of the child as a reader, built through their own research and in consultation with other contemporary texts such as atlases, dictionaries and other school books. There is a different relation with the ideas in the texts too. Now the student is constructed as a desiring subject, rather than as a cipher for an author's ideas. This desire may be frustrated by lack of access to sufficient books and the introduction of supplementary readers seeks to satisfy this newly invented desire.

The next two paragraphs of the introduction (see Table 15) show how the introduction of the supplementary readers and a concentration on silent reading complexifies the practice of reading and drives new classroom practices, including new relations between teacher and pupil.

Table 15: Extract from the introduction to reading, Course of Instruction, 1924

There are many reasons why children should read much, but perhaps the four chief objects to be achieved are- 1 Enlargement of the child's vocabulary. 2 Increased facility of expression. 3 Acquisition of knowledge. 4 Appreciation and enjoyment of good literature. Generally one of these objects will be uppermost in the mind of the teacher, but often a lesson will serve for all four. There should be a definite aim in every lesson. While much silent reading will be necessary to carry out this scheme, the best results will be achieved only where the teacher is a co-worker with his pupils and a supervisor of their efforts. To this end it is necessary that the teacher should make himself familiar with all the books used. When the teacher works with his class he has the opportunity of arousing interest and delight, especially in the books he likes.

Note how the old reading practices are not forgotten or erased, however, as 'facility of expression' remains. Here is an *adding on* to the repertoire of practices that constitute reading. Now the teacher is more than a supervisor, he (sic) must become a co-worker who knows and enjoys the same books as the children, presumably so that he can better monitor the reading that is now occurring silently and inside the children's heads. Importantly, this section on supplementary reading with its new way of constituting reading and classroom practices is not placed *instead* of the perspective on reading shown above for

1921, it is simply *added* to the introduction. So, from 1924 on, two quite different, and to some extent contradictory, ways of constituting reading exist side by side in the same document.

Clearly the introductions are important supplements to the descriptions of course content in the course of instruction. Over time, their length grows and they appear to assume more and more importance in relation to the descriptions of content. In 1944, at just the time the description of content is reduced to a simple three line statement of the resources to be used at a grade level (see Table 8), the introduction has been expanded and completely rewritten into a new question and answer format written, literally, as responses to questions asked by an anonymous, and presumably 'ideal', teacher. The first paragraph of the response to the question "How many class readers should be studied?" (see Table 16) shows that the issue of silent vs oral reading is placed in a new relation related to the age of the students. Oral reading is consigned to the early years of school (before year 6 at least) allowing emphasis for the older readers on 'other aspects of reading' such as reading for 'pleasure and for information'.

Table 16: Extract from the introduction to English, Course of Instruction, 1944

How many class readers should be studied?
By the time scholars have reached Grade VI most of them will have attained facility in reading aloud. In Grades VI and VII the emphasis should be placed upon other aspects of reading, i.e., for pleasure and for information.

Reading of the class readers now becomes an issue in relation to writing, rather than proper expression or pronunciation. Reading leads to 'research', group work and discussion as well as comparison with other texts on the same topic.

Table 17: Extract from the introduction to English, Course of Instruction, 1944

The class reader or readers should be used as a basis for an appreciation of the English language and literature. By this we do not mean from a spelling or grammatical point of view. These methods would spoil the most beautiful writings in our language. We mean rather the development in a pupil of an appreciation of simple and sincere writing and of the best use of words. Interesting references in the story might be expanded or made the object of research by groups of children; other writings by the same author might be discussed; writings or poems on the same subject by different authors might be compared.

Twenty years on, the issue of the amount of reading and the issues of 'supplementing' the reader is still alive. Clearly, cost is a limiting factor in the wish to have students read as much as possible (these are the war years) but there continues to be strong encouragement to increase the amount of reading, just as was expressed in 1924. However, new practices are introduced in relation to this supplementary reading in 1944. Not only will students enjoy books as literary artefacts, they will also 'study' these texts, 'skim' them and 'cull' them for 'information' or 'factual references'.

Table 18: Extract from the introduction to English, Course of Instruction, 1944

The number of readers which can be treated in this way will vary from class to class and from teacher to teacher. It will depend on the nature of the books studied. In many instances the cost will be a limiting factor. In some cases the teacher will find enough in one reader to last the whole year. At least one book should be studied and enjoyed in this way, though here again the teacher may find that not all the stories lend themselves to such treatment. We expect that a child will read many book or stories during the year. Some will be skimmed over, some will be used to cull information from, while some will be worth extra attention because of their literary value or factual references.

Once again, the revision of the course of instruction, this time a 'major' revision or complete rewrite, has resulted in the introduction of new versions of reading and a new range of practices. As in 1924, these new practices are added to the curriculum, rather than replacing old practices (although here oral reading is consigned to only those years before upper primary). There is evidence here of an accumulation of practices as the curriculum is revised and redeveloped rather than a reconceptualisation (a similar process was found in a survey of curriculum documents in the 1960s and 1970s in South Australia (Cormack & Comber, 1996)). Another process at work is the movement of information about practices away from the statements of content into the introductory 'how to' sections of the course of instruction – teachers are becoming more and more important as interpreters of the curriculum. They must also take on new roles of monitoring and supervision as the practice of reading is rethought.

These examples demonstrate the value of close analysis of sections of the course of instruction. It is possible to see how reading was being rethought and reconstituted through the curriculum. Many of the practices introduced in these years preconfigured some of the emphases of the New English in the 1960s and 1970s with its focus on language in use, reading across the curriculum, and personal meaning in relation to the reading and production of narrative texts. The difference is, perhaps, that the reading practices in the 1920s to 1950s were presented as separate and somewhat contradictory strands of the English curriculum, and not related to a unifying theory of language and learning. Then again, this may be reading a unity into the New English that should also be the subject of similar analysis at another time. Above all, the analysis indicates that the 1920s to 1950s are a fruitful period for consideration where there was an ongoing struggle to define and redefine what it meant to be a proper 'English' subject (at least in relation to reading). The next phase of analysis, not reported here, will be to extend the range of texts considered to include inspectors' reports, educational articles, speeches at conferences and so on in order to further explore the relation of the subject of the English curriculum to the broader program of public schooling and the formation of suitable citizens. For now, however, we turn our attention to the post-primary English curriculum and the nature of the English subject being constituted in that place.

Mapping the post-primary curriculum

Before mapping the post-primary English curriculum, it was necessary to investigate the introduction and, as we soon discovered, myriad of post-primary options made available in South Australia during the period under

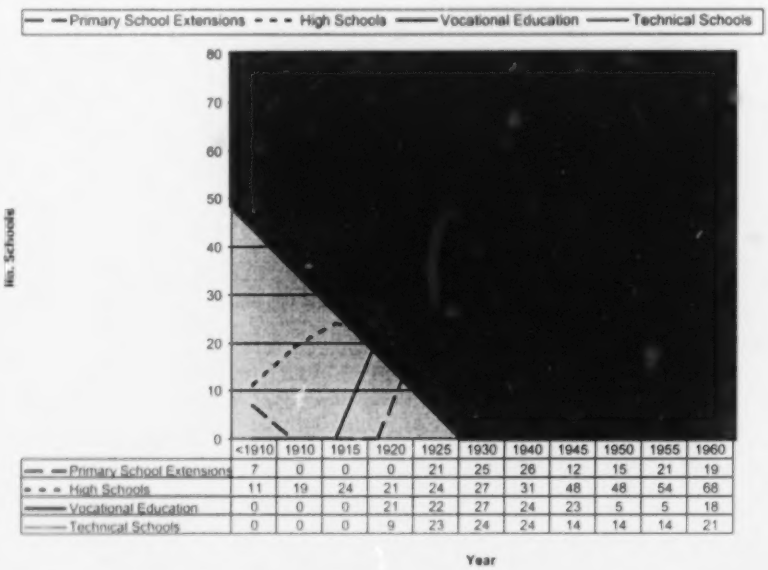
study. Although secondary education had been available to those who could afford the private schools and colleges established many years earlier, the evolution of state post-primary education for students in regional and metropolitan areas was particularly complex during the first half of the twentieth century. It also became apparent from our mapping that there was no singular English curriculum on offer. In this section of the paper, we will outline the various kinds of post-primary options made available, map the range of subjects on offer within each type of school, and thus provide a background to the analysis we are conducting of the secondary English curriculum offerings over the forty year period.

The Education Act of 1905 was significant in that it formalised compulsory attendance in primary schools, and paved the way for more debate on the systematic development of post-primary education. The newly appointed Minister of Education, Alfred Williams, undertook a year-long tour of Europe and America in 1907, and on "the director's return, the Government and Education hastily set about solving the crisis of youth and expiating the cardinal sin of lagging behind overseas developments" (Miller,1986, p.135). Initially, public post-primary education was only available in the form of Continuation Classes, or extensions of primary schools. However, in 1908 Adelaide High School was officially opened with an enrolment of over five hundred students, a significant number of these training to become teachers, and in the following year eight District High Schools were opened. This marks the beginning of a period of expansion in and debate focused on the purposes and forms of secondary education in South Australia.

For the purposes of this study, four major threads have been identified in the development of post-primary education. These were:

- extensions of primary schools
  (continuation classes and higher primary schools with English as a compulsory subject)
- vocational training centres
  (special vocation schools, apprentice trade schools etc. which offered specialist training in apprenticeships and trades without a general curriculum or English; these were often part-time, evening and adult classes)
- technical education
  (central, technical, junior technical and country technical schools, offering a general curriculum, including English as a compulsory subject at all levels, in addition to some vocational training)
- high schools
  (including district high schools and area schools offering both academic and vocational courses, including English as a compulsory subject).

Figure 4: Post-primary schooling in South Australia from the 1920s to the 1950s



	<1910	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960
Primary School Extensions	7	0	0	0	21	25	26	12	15	21	19
High Schools	11	19	24	21	24	27	31	48	48	54	68
Vocational Education	0	0	0	21	22	27	24	23	5	5	18
Technical Schools	0	0	0	9	23	24	24	14	14	14	21

*This illustrates the number of schools (not enrolments)
*Area/Consolidated Schools created in 1942 included as High Schools
*Adult Education Classes in regional areas created in 1957 included as Vocational Education

Figure 4 is a representation of the development and changes of post-primary institutions from 1910 – 1960. It can be seen that 1920s-1950s was a period of flux, particularly in relation to vocational and technical training. From the 1950s high schools came to dominate.

Summary of data used in the analysis of post-primary schooling

The Education Department of South Australia published complete and distinct Courses of Study for three post-primary educational settings: Central Schools (1924), Technical Schools (1929) and High Schools (1929 – for 1st Year and 2nd Year). The senior secondary years in High Schools (Intermediate, Leaving and Leaving Honours) were governed by the syllabus and examinations as set by the Public Examinations Board of the University of Adelaide. The division in High Schools shifted in 1923 when it was decided to delay by one year the first Public Examinations Board syllabus, thus allowing more time for students and teachers to satisfy the demands of the curriculum leading to that first public examination. Thus, in 1923, what had been the Junior Examination at the end of the 2nd Year, became the Intermediate Examination at the end of the 3rd Year.

Our study of the English curriculum focuses on key documents used across the range of post-primary options. They are:

- *Courses of Study for Central Schools* (1924), Education Department of South Australia

- *Syllabus of Subjects and Courses in Technical Schools* (1929), Education Department of South Australia
- *Courses of Study for High Schools with Notes and Suggestions* (1929), Education Department of South Australia
- *The Manual of the Public Examinations Board of the University of Adelaide,* published annually throughout the period of this study, 1920-1960.

The Public Examinations Board released a new document each calendar year to be implemented in High Schools. In contrast, the Education Department produced distinct documents for each of the post primary options identified above and such courses were used over many years with only minor revisions (eg: titles of "approved books") and these were noted in the *Education Gazette*. The only other official Education Department of South Australia post-primary course of study or syllabus we were able to locate that was released during the period of our study was *A Course of Study for Central Schools (Boys)* (1939). This came at a time when boys' enrolments in Central Schools were falling dramatically, against the trend of increasing numbers of boys at similar technical school settings in the eastern states of Australia.

It is worth noting that Higher Primary School students undertook the syllabuses of the Correspondence School or that set by the Public Examinations Board of the University of Adelaide. Further references to Higher Primary Schools are to be found in Courses of Instruction for Primary Schools (1929). Higher Primary Schools were seen to be extensions of primary schools, and were staffed by teachers trained in primary, rather than secondary, teaching. The Syllabus of Subjects and Courses in Technical Schools (1929) includes details for part time and adult vocational classes including the Apprentice Trade Schools, and for the purposes of this study, the only section referred to is the Thebarton Technical High School Course that included English as a compulsory core subject. In the specialist vocational settings, students usually studied part-time or in the evening, and undertook apprenticeships or training in a trade without a general curriculum or English.

Differentiation of post-primary offerings

Each of the documents identified above, as well as any references to Higher Primary Schools in the Course of Instruction for Primary Schools (1929), were analysed to consider:

- which students the designated school type was designed for
- what the school type was intended to offer these students, if stated
- the source of the curriculum/syllabus
- the grades or year levels covered
- the certificate(s) offered on completion

This analysis gives some sense of the claims made for each kind of post-primary schooling and a description of their purposes. It would appear from this analysis that gender, social class, location, and local industries impacted on

what was made available for those students who stayed on beyond the 'qualifying' certificate or the age of compulsion.

Table 19: Post-primary education offerings

	Higher Primary Schools	Central Schools	Technical Schools	High Schools
Education Department documents	Course of Instruction for Primary Schools (1929), Appendix III, Education Department of South Australia	Courses of Study for Central Schools (1924) Education Department of South Australia,	Syllabus of Subjects and Courses in Technical Schools (1929) Education Department of South Australia	Courses of Study for High Schools with Notes and Suggestions (1929), Education Department of South Australia
Who attends?	pupils who have gained the Qualifying Certificate*, or are unable to attend a High School	the large number of children who will leave school at or about the age of 15 or 16 to proceed to posts, either in the public offices or in the commercial and industrial world.	*full time (day) boys	*the large number of children who will leave school at or about the age of 15 or 16 to proceed to posts, either in the public offices or in the commercial and industrial world; *those who desire to enter occupations or professions which require highly-trained intelligence *those who desire to make teaching their profession, to enter the University, to take up a commercial career, to follow rural pursuits, or in the case of girls, to fit themselves for duties in the home
What they are offered	opportunities for more advanced instruction for two or three years	an education and training, modified to some extent by a vocational basis	Not specified	*good general education; *a general preliminary education, combined with a small measure of specialised training, that will form a sound foundation for the work of higher institutions
Syllabus	As set by the Correspondence School or Adelaide University (eligible to sit for the Junior Examination, Adelaide University)	As set by the Education Department: Courses of Study for Central Schools (1924) and Courses of Study for Central Schools (Boys) (1929)	As set by the Education Department: Syllabus of Subjects and Courses in Technical Schools (1929)	As set by the Education Department (in 1st and 2nd Year) and Public Examinations Board of the Adelaide University (2nd or 3rd Year to Leaving Honours)**.
Gradings/ Year levels	Grades VIII & IX (extension of primary grades I to VII)	Grades VIII & IX, and later Grade X (extension of primary grades I to VII)	1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th year (distinction and separation of primary and secondary gradings)	1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Year and Leaving Honours (distinction and separation of primary and secondary gradings)
Certification	Students may choose to sit for the Junior Intermediate Examination (set by Adelaide University)	Central School Certificate (Endorsed by Inspectors)	*Departmental Junior Technical Certificate (2nd Year) *Intermediate Technical Certificate (3rd year) *Those who stay for 4th year are permitted to sit either for the Leaving Technical Certificate (set by Department) or the Leaving Exam (set by Adelaide University)	*Junior Examination (2nd Year) *Intermediate Examination (3rd Year) *Leaving Examination (4th Year) *Leaving Honours Examination (5th Year) (set by Adelaide University)

**The Qualifying Certificate marked the completion of primary school. Students were examined in English, Mathematics, History and Geography up to Grade VII standard.*

***The Junior Examination has held at the end of 2nd Year until 1923, when it was replaced by the Intermediate Examination held at the end of 3rd Year.*

In Central, Technical and Higher Primary Schools, there was no direct affiliation with the University of Adelaide, and the curriculum, examinations and certification were overseen and administered by Inspectors of the Education Department. While Education Department Inspectors were also responsible for the curriculum during the junior secondary years in High Schools, it is apparent that the syllabus for the Intermediate Examination administered by the University of Adelaide formed the curriculum. The Intermediate Examination is marked as a critical milestone that distinguishes between those "who desire to enter professions which require highly-trained intelligence" (Courses of Study for High Schools with Notes and Suggestions, 1929), and those who will "proceed to posts either in the public offices or in the commercial and industrial world" (Courses of Study for Central Schools, 1924). It should be pointed out that students in Higher Primary, Central and Technical Schools where able to sit for the Public Examinations set by Adelaide University, though their potential for success in these exams may have been limited by the range and focus of their educational experience.

It is also interesting to note that the Preface to the syllabus for Technical Schools was very brief while other course prefaces gave detail about purpose and student populations. Technical Schools trained pupils for non-professional destinations of lower status than High Schools, while the Central Schools suffered a reputation as being little more than annexes to primary schools and this was said to account for their declining enrolments, particularly in the 'Boys Departments'. The resultant closure of Central Schools in 1939 made way for the expansion of Technical Schools in metropolitan and regional South Australia.

Curriculum offerings in Post-primary education

Before focusing on the subject English, it is useful to consider how it fits into the range of subjects on offer across post primary schools. Again, we refer only to those forms of schooling that place English as a compulsory subject, but in this case the inclusion of Higher Primary Schools is no longer necessary since those students were supervised as they studied the curriculum on offer in department high schools. In Table 20 we have mapped the time allocation across subjects, and it will be seen that students in Central Schools were given extra tuition in English and the accompanying notes within the Course booklets suggest that much of this time was spent revising skills already taught to these same students while in primary schools. In the High School curriculum the label 'English' is used across all three courses on offer, as it is in Technical Schools. However, in Central Schools, the term 'General Literature' is employed with separate labels of 'Composition' and 'Grammar'. This use of the title 'literature' is interesting and signalled to us to consider the role of literature within English in our analysis of the curriculum documents themselves. Overall, it is clear from this table that studies in English (or its component parts) formed a core of the curriculum (along with Physical Training, Civics, Geography and forms of Mathematics) across all forms of schooling on offer, no matter what the imagined destination of the pupils the schools served. One obvious question

raised, though, is whether or not the kind of English curriculum offered in each site would be the same. The use of a different title such as 'General Literature' in Central Schools indicated that there would be differences evident on closer examination of the materials.

Table 20: Curriculum offerings in post-primary education

	Central Schools	Technical Schools	High Schools
Reference	Courses of Study for Central Schools (1924) Education Department of South Australia	Syllabus of Subjects and Courses in Technical Schools (1929) Education Department of SA	Courses of Study for High Schools with Notes and Suggestions (1929), Education Department of South Australia
Courses	*While there were three distinct courses on offer* *Commercial* *Junior Technical* *Home-making* *for the purposes of our study, we refer only to the compulsory subjects undertaken by all student within those divisions:* Commercial: **-General literature (6)*** **-Composition (oral and written) (3)** **-Grammar (1)** -Geography (3) -History & Civics (2) -Singing (1) -Physical Culture (15 mins daily) **Junior Technical** **-General literature (6)*** **-Composition (oral and written) (2)** **-Grammar (1)** -Geography (3) -History & Civics (2) -Singing (1) -Physical Culture (15 mins daily) **Home-making** **-General literature (5)*** **-Composition (oral and written) (2)** **-Grammar (1)** -Geography (1) -History & Civics (2) -Singing (1) -Physical Culture (15 mins daily)	*Reference here to Thebarton Technical College only.* *Courses offered can be taken for up to four years and include instruction in the subjects listed below 'according to ability and inclination' and preferred vocational path. Time allocation given only for English and Physical Training.* **English (5)** Physical Training (15 mins daily) Civics Hygiene Geography Arithmetic Mensuration Algebra Geometry Trigonometry Physics Chemistry Free drawing Geometrical drawing Mechanical drawing Building drawing Modelling Woodwork Sheet metalwork Fitting and turning Blacksmithing Printing	*There were three distinct courses on offer* *A) General Course* *B) Commercial Course* *C) Agricultural Course* **General Course** **-English (5)** -History & Civics (3-5) -Geography (2-4) -Mathematics (10-13) -Elementary Science (3 at 1st Yr) -Agriculture (option of 3 at 1st Yr) -From 2nd Yr, choices of Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Botany and Agriculture (3-4) -Latin (5) -French or German (4-5) -Singing (1) -Drawing (2-3) -Domestic Art (3) -Woodwork (3) -Sports and Cadets (1) -Physical Training (15 mins daily) **Commercial Course** **-English (5)** -Arithmetic and Science options and time cut to allow for -Book-keeping and Business Correspondence (5) -Shorthand (5) -Typewriting (2-4); -all other subjects and allocation as for General Course **Agricultural Course:** **-English (5-4)** -History & Civics (3) -Geography (2-3) -French or Bookkeeping (4-5) -Algebra (4) -Arithmetic (4) -Geometry (4) -Mathematic (4th Yr only) -Science (2 at 1st & 2nd Yr) -Botany (4 at 3rd & 4th Yr) -Agriculture (6) -Sports &Cadet Training(1)

**Number in brackets refers to number of 40 mins lessons/week .*

Notes on the teaching of English

To consider the different forms of the subject English across these three forms of secondary education we examined the content and accompanying notes/introductions for the teaching of English that were included in the documents.

We found that the English syllabuses offered in 1st and 2nd Year High School mirrored the University syllabus for the Intermediate exam set by the Public Examinations Board (PEB). In other words, 1st and 2nd Year High School were preparation for the Intermediate exam. In contrast to this 'push down' from the exam to the curriculum in the High School, the other post-primary options tended, particularly in the subject English, to be an extension of primary school curriculum. Here the emphasis was on consolidation of skills with little of the literary and cultural appreciation on offer in the High Schools.

For example, oral language and grammar are not signified as concerns within High Schools, but receive considerable treatment in the content and notes for Central and Technical Schools. In relation to oral composition, it is assumed that there are gaps to be filled and deficits to be corrected in Central School students and thus there will be 'practice in courteous forms of speech, and discouragement of slovenly and inelegant expression' (echoing similar statements in the primary curriculum). The Course of Study for High Schools makes no mention of oral language, and it is perhaps assumed that those gaps and deficits do not exist for High School students. However, in the High Schools aural work is emphasised within the notes for the teaching of poetry, and the students are seen to have an inclination and undiscovered appreciation for beauty: 'Taste for good poetry can be cultivated incidentally…by training their ears to appreciate the music of rhythm, rhyme and words…Students not only find pleasure in listening to music, but are very responsive to its emotional appeal; they seem intuitively to understand the meaning of sound.' The notes for the teaching of poetry in Technical Schools suggest that in this setting the study of poetry focused less on lyrical beauty and more on poetry as entertainment and for memorisation: 'It is very important that the pupils enjoy the poems set…Pupils should be encouraged to learn poems which appeal to them…such studies should lead to an appreciation of the rhythm and melody of verse.'

In High Schools, the notes for teachers emphasise literary studies and direct that "works…are to be treated as a valuable means, not only of obtaining information, but also of inculcating high ideals in the pupil, and of cultivating in him an appreciation of good books." (Courses of Study for High Schools, 1929). This is in contrast to the organization of the subject English in Central Schools where there were three divisions: General literature, Composition (oral and written) and Grammar. In the Central Schools, rather than a detailed examination of approaches to teaching the novel as in the Courses of Study for High Schools, the study of novels is briefly introduced: "the books to be read

during the year will be selected from the following lists: at least three books per annum are to be read"(Courses of Study for Central Schools, 1924). In the High Schools, 'the teacher will emphasise the intellectual and aesthetic sides of literature, especially the aesthetic'. In the Central and Technical Schools, it was recommended only limited attention should be paid to details, and books should not be 'torn to tatters' to avoid 'mar(ring) the joy of reading'.

Having mapped the curriculum offerings in the range of post-primary schools, and sampled the flavour of course outlines and notes, it is clear that there were different forms of English on offer to students. We now turn to a more detailed examination of the curriculum in one of those sites.

Post Primary English – the Intermediate Syllabus

As has been indicated above the Intermediate year was a significant year because it shaped the schooling of students at High Schools and by implication the schooling of students in Higher Primary, Central and Technical schools. We therefore decided for the purposes of this study that we would focus on the Intermediate year level to explore how and by what means the post primary student was constituted by the English curriculum. To do this we analysed the following documents for the period 1920 -1960. 1) The Intermediate English syllabuses 2) the introductions/notes accompanying the syllabuses 3) the examinations and 4) the examiners' comments. For the purposes of this paper we focus upon the syllabuses and the introductions/notes. We begin by mapping the content of the syllabuses and describing the role and extent of the syllabuses' introductions and notes.

Mapping the Intermediate English Syllabus

The content of the Intermediate syllabus changed little in the forty years from 1920 – 1960 although as we explain later, the interpretation of the syllabus did undergo change during this time. The English syllabus was described as English literature and was invariably written as a list of titles to be studied. These titles included poetry, drama and prose. The other aspects of the syllabus, grammar and either essay or precis writing were separately listed. The 1920 syllabus outlined in its entirety in Table 21, shows how typically the content was described.

Table 21: English Literature section of the Junior Public Examination syllabus, 1920*

1. ENGLISH LITERATURE
(a)Jennings, J.G. *English Poems I* (*Macmillan*. 1s. 3d) with repetition of 'Sweet and low' (p 2), 'Daffodils' (p9), 'Under the Greenwood tree' (p14). 'Three fishers' (p35), 'Destruction of Sennacherib' (p42), 'Solitary reaper' (p47), 'Fear no more the heat o' the sun' (p54), and 'The year's at the spring' (p57).
(b)Hawthorne, N. *Tanglewood Tales*
(c) Grammar and composition: Exercises in analysis and parsing, and on such topics as are dealt with in Arnold's *Shilling English composition*, ch.i-xii.
(d) An English essay

* later to become the Intermediate examination

The content of the Intermediate syllabus during the period of our study was remarkably similar in form. Prose, poetry and either essay or precis writing was prescribed every year. A play (or plays) was prescribed every year except 1920. Grammar was specifically prescribed in only twenty of the forty years that this study covers. Table 22 below reveals this similarity of content.

Table 22: Summary of content in the Intermediate Syllabus 1920 – 1960

Content form	Dates	Major aspects
Poetry	1920 -60	*The Poet's Commonwealth* and/or *The Poet's Way* were used from 1928 –1959
Drama	1920	Not listed
	1921 –1942	1 play by Shakespeare
	1943 – 48	Choice of modern plays (no Shakespeare)
	1949 - 1960	Shakespeare or *Modern Short Plays*
Prose	1920	Book of tales
	1921 – 1930	1 novel only listed for each year
	1931 –2	Narrative and descriptive prose passages (no novel)
	1933 – 36	Choice of *a* novel *or* prose passages
	1937 – 1941	Choice of novels and/or prose passages
	1942 - 60	Choice of novels
Grammar	1920 – 22	Exercises in analysis and parsing
	1923 – 30	Not listed
	1931	Accidence(part of grammar that deals with the inflexions of words)
	1932 – 39	Descriptive grammar
	1940 – 1952	Not listed
	1953 - 1960	Grammar exercises on sentence structure, usage and arrangement
Writing	1920 – 1939	An essay
	1940 – 1952	Precis writing
	1953 – 54	Unprepared prose writing
	1955 - 1960	A comprehension (no prose or essay)

Changes in content largely focused on the inclusion or exclusion of grammar as a specific study and the issue of how much choice was offered with regard to the poetry, drama and prose texts to be studied. In 1920 there were no choices to be made. *English Poems 1* and *Tanglewood Tales* were the set texts. Gradually choice was introduced throughout the following decades. In the forties and fifties several choices of plays, poems and novels to be studied were listed. Interestingly these choices were often between classical and popular (or contemporary) texts or between fiction and non-fiction. For example the 1950 syllabus asks students to choose from a range of titles including fiction such as John Buchan's *Thirty-nine steps* and non-fiction such as *Real adventure* (an anthology published by Longmans). Such choices prefigure some of the categories of texts included in the national English curriculum documents of the nineties.

Aside from the increased choice of texts offered for study, the syllabuses themselves remained very similar in content over this time. However an analysis of the introductions/notes accompanying the syllabuses reveals some very real differences in how the content was to be interpreted by teachers. These introductions and notes took the form of instructions to teachers on how to interpret the syllabus. Up until 1943 the notes were brief and chiefly referred to "the correctness of the English [to be] used by candidates" the need to "employ the methods and terminology prescribed in the report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology," and the importance of candidates

being able "to mark stresses, and to display an understanding of ordinary metrical forms [in poetry]. Such notes indicate a focus on correct grammatical form and analysis. The 1930 syllabus note below, is typical.

Table 23: Note attached to the 1930 Intermediate syllabus

N.B. An essay of about a page and a half, or 350 words, on some general subject will be set in the examination, and special regard will be paid by the examiners to the correctness of the English used by candidates throughout the paper. Teachers will find the abridged edition of Fowler's *King's English* exceedingly useful on general matters of composition and the use of words. *Although grammar is not directly prescribed for examination, teachers of English composition are strongly advised to employ parsing and analysis regularly with their classes* and to adopt the terminology prescribed in the report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology: *On the terminology of grammar* (Murray). The books and extracts prescribed in (a), (b) and (c) should be studied in relation not only to their content, but also to their distinctive qualities of style. Candidates will be expected to illustrate their answers with apposite quotation and allusion. In the case of poetry they must be able to mark stresses and to display an understanding of ordinary metrical forms.

Teachers here are left in no doubt about the importance of grammar and correct English. Although grammar *is not directly prescribed for examination*, teachers *are advised to employ parsing and analysis* with their classes and this should be done *regularly*.

The 1943 syllabus heralded a change. There was a change in the type and variety of texts to be studied and for the first time an introduction to the syllabus was written. This was more detailed than the notes of the previous twenty-two years. Now the syllabus was introduced via a set of aims (see Table 24). And for the first time statements were included about the kinds of reading and writing in which students would be expected to engage. This 1943 introduction was used in slightly amended form for ten years, with the addition in 1953 and 1954 of a paragraph on the teaching of grammar. Clearly the introduction to the 1943 Intermediate syllabus was important. It signalled a change in how teachers were to approach the teaching of English and it appeared to be constructing a new kind of English subject. For this reason we decided to undertake a close analysis of the 1943 introduction.

Constituting the English subject – the 1943 Intermediate syllabus

The introduction to the 1943 syllabus begins by outlining three aims for an English literature syllabus. These aims listed in Table 24 are the first indication to teachers that they are to have a different teaching role albeit within the confines of a relatively unchanged syllabus content. Although it should be noted here that there were changes in the types of texts that were to be studied.

Table24: Extract from the introduction to the 1943 Intermediate syllabus

An English Literature syllabus at the Intermediate stage should be designed i) to reveal the pleasures of reading by prescribing for study such works of good literature as children may at this stage read with delight; (ii) to cultivate habits of concentration and exactness in reading, and to inform the power of elementary critical judgement; (iii) to enable the writing of a simple, lucid, and correct English prose.

This extract points to some of the changes and the continuities in the 1943 syllabus. "Good literature" is still prescribed for study and there is still an emphasis on writing "correct English prose." Teachers who had taught the

Intermediate syllabus prior to 1943 might also find statements about "habits of concentration and exactness in reading" congruent with their previous teaching experiences. However statements about *how* students will read such as "read[ing] with delight" and "the pleasures of reading" signal a significant change for teachers. For students to read in these new ways teachers will need to relate differently to their students. A reading of the verbs in this extract helps to elucidate this new relationship. The syllabus:

reveal[s]	the pleasures of reading
prescribe[s]	the study of …good literature as children may …read with delight
cultivate[s]	the habits of concentration and exactness in reading
enable[s]	the writing of simple, lucid and correct English
inform[s]	the power of elementary critical judgement

Although the syllabus is ascribed with these actions (the verbs), clearly it is the teachers who will enact the syllabus by *revealing, prescribing, cultivating, enabling* and *informing*. Previous intermediate syllabuses *prescribe[d]* and *inform[ed]* but this was the first time the syllabus and by implication the teachers were to *reveal, cultivate* and *enable*. There seem to be two different discourses of teaching operating here. Teachers who *prescribe* and *inform* teach directly whilst *reveal[ing], cultivat[ing]* and *enabl[ing]* indicate more implicit methods of teaching – students being nurtured by teachers rather than simply told what to do. These new ways of being a teacher point to new spaces for teacher/student relationships.

Whilst this first section of the syllabus indicates changes to how teachers might be in the classroom, the following sections describe changes in the kinds of reading and writing students will undertake as part of the Intermediate year. We turn first to reading.

Reading

Table 25 is an extract from the 1943 syllabus describing the nature of reading, what should be read and some of the practices associated with reading.

Table25: Extract from the 1943 Intermediate syllabus

Reading for delight is basic to English and Literature, conceived as an element in liberal education. Little can be built except on this. The syllabus here should not stand in disconnection from the current and popular fiction that children buy and read, but should include analogous matter of more literary substance. (Thus the creatures of Bib and Bub have cousins in the *Wind in the Willows*, and in fable; the melodramatic strips are paralleled by short stories and novels of romantic adventure – particularly those which, like *Treasure Island* include juvenile protagonists; the familiar comedy of Ginger Meggs takes literary substance in Mark Twain.) In verse, again, fables, nonsense verse, rapid narrative, familiar pieces like John Gilpin, songs are to be preferred. Reflective and descriptive verse and elaborated lyric is to be avoided, as is verse requiring much linguistic study of historical commentary. Essays of an urbane, reflective, whimsical, satirical or literary-critical sort are to be avoided. Narratives of travel and exploration, and books illustrating social history and scientific discovery are to be considered as within the field studied.

The opening sentence *"Reading for delight is basic to English language and literature conceived as an element in liberal education"* describes a particular kind of reading i.e. *reading for delight* and it places this kind of reading at the centre of a liberal

education. (This is the first time in an Intermediate syllabus that the notion of a liberal education is mentioned but in this context such a statement sees liberal education as taken for granted, as something teachers will know about) However *reading for delight* is also tied to the new kinds of texts that students are to read. Students will read *books of popular and current fiction that [they] buy and read* as well as books of *literacy substance.* Books of popular fiction are new kinds of texts in the Intermediate syllabus but they do not replace traditional texts rather they are viewed as bridges to texts *of more literary substance.* So children are encouraged to read *Ginger Meggs* and books by Mark Twain.

Reading for delight also means taking account of children's interests through reading *novels of romantic adventure* that involve *juvenile protagonists* and comic strips such as *Ginger Meggs, Fables, nonsense verse, rapid narrative, familiar pieces (such as John Gilpin), songs, narratives of travel and exploration, books illustrating social history and scientific discovery* are also valued as texts for study at the Intermediate level.

However, although such books take account of students' interests the books *that children buy and read* suggests particular children and particular reading matter. These are children who can afford books. Such statements reinforce the differential nature of secondary schools in South Australia at this time. Students sitting the Intermediate exam largely attended private schools or state high schools which catered for the middle classes and those who were to be university educated. Working class children attended Higher Primary Schools and Technical schools, which focused on a vocational education. In High School there is a particular kind of training for those children "who desire to enter occupations or professions which require highly-trained intelligence."

In 1943 a new category of text was added to the syllabus. This was called general literature, or what we might now label non-fiction. The following extract describes the new texts to be read and the reason for their introduction.

Table 26: Extract from the introduction to the 1943 syllabus

To take the place of the verse cut, and of the detailed study necessary on a Shakespeare text, there is a new section requiring the reading of three short books of general literature. Thus in 1943 there would be read (a) an account of Lawrence of Arabia, (b) an anthology of 'real adventures' telling of an escape from a prison camp, Scott's last march, a bush fire, an avalanche on Mount Everest, etc., and (c) either a book of natural history or an account of Bligh of the Bounty or a collection of narratives illustrating the history of flight or a collection of real achievements (Dr Barnado, Sir Ronald Ross, etc.)

These books describe a particular contemporary culture. They are based on 'the real', on action, heroic achievement and man conquering the environment. The stories tell largely of English heroes, of men and of travellers, explorers and conquerors of lands. Australians, women, indigenous peoples, the explored and the conquered rarely have a voice. However it should be noted that these non-fiction texts were the first of their kind to be introduced to the Intermediate curriculum although these kinds of text had formed the staple of some of the reading series employed in the primary school reading curriculum. There is the

possibility of an influence 'upward' here from primary school and more than a hint of an attempt to appeal to a particular 'boy' reader.

The 1943 syllabus provided Intermediate students with a much broader range of texts for study than previous syllabuses. The reading of popular and contemporary fiction was encouraged and non-fiction texts were introduced. Texts of literary substance were still important although it is interesting to note that there was no Shakespearian text included in 1943 (or for the next six years). There appear to have been two moves in the 1943 syllabus with regard to reading. 1) Some texts have been added and 2) some have been replaced. Popular and contemporary fiction has been *added* to the syllabus and some texts of literary substance (for example Shakespeare) have been *replaced* with non-fiction texts. This notion of adding and/or replacing what was read as part of the syllabus was also to be found in the descriptions of what and how students were to write.

Writing

Table 27 describes the kinds of writing in which students would be involved and how that writing should be presented.

Table 27 Extract from 1943 Intermediate English Syllabus

The ability to follow a piece of writing through, appreciating its structure, intention, and emphasis, is tested both in the writing of simple accounts of passages studied, and in precis. It is reasonable to expect candidates to discriminate between the spare and the florid, the disinterested and the tendentious, the lively and the dull, etc., but this aspect of the work can only be examined with difficulty. Grammatical and harmonious English like a pure and simple style is best acquired unconsciously and by the frequentation of good models. Life, rhythm, and the ability to convey exactly what is designed are of much more importance than spelling, flawless grammar, handwriting, punctuation, avoidance of ' slang', etc. Emphasis should be not on the production of 'compositions' adequate in these latter regards, but upon the matters described and discussed. If the subject is interesting, and felt as requiring concentration and exact treatment, the 'English' is likely to become more or less right. Examination here should be designed to test the candidates' knowledge, clarity, power to order detail, elementary taste, breadth of interests, rather than the 'goodness' of his English abstractly regarded.

The kinds of writing prescribed by this syllabus were similar to what had gone before although the injunction to write *simple accounts of the passages studied* provides more detail of what will be written than previous syllabuses which up until 1939 merely prescribed *an essay* or from 1940 *precis writing*. Further information about what will be written is outlined in the sentence that describes what the examination will test - *Examination here should be designed to test the candidate's knowledge, clarity, power to order detail, elementary taste, and breadth of interests*... This is an example of adding to, rather than replacing what has been written in previous syllabuses. The place of grammar in the curriculum has varied across the period of this study. In the 1943 syllabus grammar rather than being a series of exercises in parsing and analysis relates to how students will present their writing. For example *with clarity and power to order detail*.

In previous years, notes to teachers about writing focused on students' abilities to write correct English, which meant correct grammar (even in those years when grammar was not specifically prescribed). The 1943 introduction reveals

two ways of conceptualising the teaching of grammar. On the one hand grammar is said to *be best acquired unconsciously and by frequentation of good models*. Similarly *the ability to convey exactly what is designed* is said to be more important than *spelling, flawless grammar and handwriting*. This seems to imply a less direct (what would later come to be called 'natural') method of teaching based on an implicit notion of 'good' grammar (spelling and handwriting). Such discourse prefigures the discourses of the 'whole language' approach (with its emphasis on 'natural', implicit approaches) predominant in South Australia some thirty years later in the seventies and eighties. The focus on the content of students' writing rather than the mechanics of the writing also speaks to a 'whole language' approach. On the other hand there is quite obviously a correct form of grammar because one of the aims of this syllabus is that it *should enable the writing of ... correct English prose* and a note at the end of the syllabus says; *marks will be deducted for pronounced weakness in grammar, spelling and legibility*. Although there is a move away (to some extent) from correct grammar, at the same time there is no denying its importance. Clearly teachers still need to teach grammar if their students are going to successfully pass the examination but the introduction to the syllabus seems to imply that the methods of teaching may be different from those in the past. For example frequent modelling of correct grammar is obviously being advocated. As mentioned above this syllabus introduction points to new ways of being a teacher whilst simultaneously maintaining major content in the Intermediate syllabus. As well the 1943 introduction constitutes a particular ideal English student via the changes and continuities it prescribes. This is shown in figure22.

Figure 22: The ideal English student as constituted by the changes and continuities in the introduction to the 1943 Intermediate syllabus

Changes	Continuities
• reads for pleasure • reads with delight • reads popular fiction • has a breadth of interests • writes simple, lucid prose	• is disciplined into concentration and exactness in reading • reads books of literary substance/good literature • possesses elementary critical judgement • displays elementary taste • writes correct English • writes with knowledge and clarity • can order detail in writing

The continuities tend to constitute a student that is concerned with sanctioned knowledge, an exactness in reading and the writing of correct prose while the changes tend to emphasise a student who takes pleasure and delight in reading and who has a breadth of interests, who displays an ease of skill. The 1943 syllabus opens up a new kind of space for how an English student might be - albeit a somewhat contradictory space. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss how the ideal student of the 1943 syllabus was developed in succeeding syllabuses it is suffice to say traces of this 1943 syllabus can be seen throughout the years until 1960 and even in the Intermediate (Year 10) English syllabus of today.

Quite obviously the 1943 syllabus and its introduction marked some significant changes to the Intermediate syllabus. These changes related in particular to the kinds of texts students were to read and to how teachers were to interpret the curriculum. For the first time in an Intermediate syllabus the notion of a liberal education was flagged. Perhaps this was not surprising given the desire of education reform movements both in Australia and overseas to create less rigid and more liberal curricula. Hyams et al., (1988) describe how the agitation of education reform movements and the South Australian Public Teachers' Union led to "the commissioning of the Education Inquiry in 1942." This inquiry was obviously influenced by the reform movements and advocated "some liberalisation of the curriculum through changes in the state school syllabus and in the public examinations" (Hyams et al., 1988, p242). The 1943 syllabus may well be an example of the liberalisation that was recommended.

Conclusion

This paper has summarised a mapping of the primary and post-primary English curriculum from the 1920s to the 1950s and taken a closer look at selected parts of the curriculum materials with a particular focus on reading. Our analysis has shown that looking just at curriculum content reveals a relatively stable approach over the forty years. The study of primary and high school content in reading, for example, showed only minor, additive changes to content, especially around what students will read. Certainly there were areas that changed, with grammar the most obvious as being dropped from the primary curriculum, and moving in and out of prominence in the high school.

It was when we looked at the co-texts that introduced and supplemented the descriptions of content that we found evidence of some quite major changes in how that content was to be deployed and used in the English classroom, especially, but not exclusively in the 1940s.

We found that apparently minor additions to content, for example the introduction of supplementary readers in primary school in 1924, opened up new problems in the teaching of English through the way that they emphasised silent reading. Similar issues may have been raised in the secondary classroom by the introduction of new kinds of popular and non-fiction texts. These changes seem to have required a new kind of relationship between the teacher and the student, in order to allow the students' reading to be monitored, guided and supervised. In the pre 1920s curriculum oral reading, and reading of familiar, classic texts with authorised 'noble thoughts' and 'great ideas' provided an immediate and well-recognised way of monitoring performance. The introduction of a wider range of texts, to be read in the privacy of one's own head, required new relations to the text and between students and teachers. For example, now students should desire to read, and somehow the message they were taking from the text needed to be checked and corrected if necessary, and this experience in turn, needed to lead to a better reading and appreciation of the canon. All this may have required a new technology of

teaching – one that emphasised guidance over direction, pleasure over fear, and personal response (open to kindly supervision) over a public and authorised response.

Our analysis to this point has given us some hints that it is in the 1940s that strong moves to produce this new kind of teaching were promoted via the curriculum materials in South Australian schools – although some of these ideas were present from the early 1920s. This analysis remains to be filled out and verified by going to a much wider range of sources of information and texts including:

- the reading materials developed and supplied for students
- how to guides, and texts developed for teachers by education departments and publishers
- articles in journals
- inspectors' reports and other official reviews of teacher practice

Similarly, we believe that an examination of teacher training curriculum and materials for this period in South Australia would provide a useful way of further investigating the kind of English subject being produced. Such sources would provide an especially useful way of analysing the teaching technologies being developed to constitute this new kind of student.

Finally, our mapping of the curriculum also showed that there were different versions of English being produced in post-primary settings depending on the imagined destinations of the students. Our analysis in this paper has focussed on the high school English student subject. This subject needs to be placed alongside the student in the technical, vocational and other settings provided.

There is value in the close textual analysis of curriculum materials of the kind illustrated in this paper. The analysis has the potential to disrupt assumed continuities and to show how curriculum is deployed in shaping, often in quite subtle ways, new kinds of student subjects and the new teaching technologies required to produce these students. Clearly any examination of the 'new' English of the 1960s and 1970s will be usefully informed by attention to the earlier history of the English subject.

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